/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 • 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/182 cont./

religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently forgetting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption, yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the religion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural resistance appear in their most manifest form.

As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of support in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to constitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nandedjára rembiguái, ancillary spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

241 462 primary importance of men in agriculture. Besides clearing and burning, which they have probably always done, men now plant, tend, or harvest a majority of crops. The female role in agriculture, although not insignificant, is limited usually to certain plants and operations, such as, for example, planting corn.

The present male role in agriculture seems well established, in sentiment as well as operation. An example is the Cayuá belief about the sensitiveness of gourds; a woman must never so much as walk through a gourd patch because her very smell could spoil the gourds (make them turn out with warts or spots on them or having shapes such as to render them useless for bottles or rattles). Yet there are other associations in agriculture which are equally exclusive of men. Men do more of the over-all work from clearing to harvesting, but women may (in some cases, must) plant certain crops, tend certain of them, and harvest certain ones, though not necessarily all the operations for each crop. Some of these operations are not rigidly prescribed as to sex, though others are. The precise details are not in every case agreed upon; the latter becomes evident when comparing notes from different informants. But the main points, including the notion that in agriculture certain tasks are to be performed by women and others by men, are unmistakable. Differences of detail, moreover, seem to be largely confined to the less important and less common plants and operations. Men appear to consider that the *kokwé* is primarily and essentially their responsibility and that women are, so to speak, called in to attend to a special plant or operation which pertains to them. On the other hand, some widows maintain gardens of their own and may be "employed" to work in the fields of other men, if that is necessary to contribute to their self-support. The task of bringing home the products of the *kokwé* for *178 the daily meals is clearly a female one.

• 594 Joint vs. individual labor is considered at greater length under a later heading regarding the changed size and composition of the consumption-production 476 group (see pp. 87–91). However, since the division of labor is also involved, joint 596 and individual labor are mentioned briefly here. The main point is that more work is accomplished individually and less work jointly at present than was formerly the case, as far as the evidence goes. For one thing, production (and consumption) is now primarily carried on by elementary families. This means that usually a single adult male, assisted by his wife in those operations which pertain to females, produces almost the entirety of what is consumed by his own (elementary) family. Production (and consumption) was formerly to a much larger extent carried on by extended family households; this was particularly true of agricultural production. Now there are almost universally individual (elementary family) *kokwé* instead of a smaller number of extended family *kokwé*.

476 It is difficult to know how to relate the institution of the *puĭrão*, or joint work party, as it is and as it used to be, to the matter of individual vs. joint

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[139] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[139] "*Changa*" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE PRESENT BASIC PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION UNIT OF SOCIETY

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first.

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[139] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production.

The *tapúi* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapúi*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapúi* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household.

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puširão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãwĩ* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire-

[139] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

• 594 wood is obtained, water is drawn, and food is produced, cooked, and consumed. Agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, and trading for goods used—
602 all these activities are carried on by the elementary family. There is, of course, mutual helpfulness among relatives, and such assistance is naturally more frequent among close relatives, but there can be no mistaking the present fundamental unit.

*178 The shift in house types to the present, smaller types of dwellings involves
342 somewhat varying architectural patterns, but all of them are basically different from the *tapúi*.[140] Architecturally it is usually easy to distinguish the old from the new in Cayuá dwellings. The old-style *tapúi*, which is still to be seen today at Taquapiri and at other Cayuá villages, had no walls, or, more precisely, the wall and the roof were not distinct; the roof extended in one unbroken incline from its peak to the ground. The walls of modern houses are perpendicular to the ground. Significantly, the Cayuá call the distinct roofs of their modern type houses "*tẽšo*," which is apparently from the Spanish *techo* or "roof." This suggests that the aboriginal word did not distinguish between "roof" and "wall" and, therefore, that the architecture wherein the two are different is new.[141] The newer types of houses are not uniform in structural detail, but all have certain features in common which are sufficient to distinguish them from the *tapúi*. Besides having separate roofs and walls, the modern houses do not have thatch walls (their roofs, though, are of thatch) like the "walls" of the *tapúi*. Modern walls are usually made of 6′ to 8′-bamboo trunks split many times about the perimeter and opened and flattened into a sort of board. This use of bamboo not only does not occur in the *tapúi* or any other aboriginal type of construction, as far as is known, but would not have been practicable before the advent of metal tools. The foregoing architectural features alone would be infallible in distinguishing the *tapúi* from modern Cayuá dwellings, but there is also the matter of size. Although size varies among the modern houses, as it did among aboriginal *tapúi*, the old *tapúi* were apparently much larger on the average than any modern type house seen or reported. The evident reason is that the *tapúi* were intended to hold more people—the extended family. The relation of the change in size of households to the change in size of houses thus seems close and obvious.

331 Technologically *tapúi* construction required the work of a fair number of men—possibly all the male members of an extended family. On the other hand, without metal tools to make the bamboo "boards," not even a sizeable

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[140] It has been thought well to consider house types here, apart from the rest of material culture, because of their implications in the question of the production-consumption-dwelling unit of Cayuá society.

[141] If the supposed etymology of the modern Cayuá word is correct, it indicates the probable European provenience of certain non-aboriginal architectural ideas. Even so, however, this gives only the pattern from which the small houses were borrowed; the question of why remains.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapúi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapúi*. In other words, building a *tapúi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[142] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production.

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144]

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a

[142] The existing *tapúi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapúi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses.

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognized as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to represent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural produce.[145] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[145] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *tapúi* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 438 464 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" *changa* and intra-village trade are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been [648] and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or commercialism.

*178 433 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism" and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however, might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercialism.) [594] First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the elementary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective sentiments and usages. [476] There has been an increase in the attitude of primary self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feeling, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and individualism. [736] A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (commercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages, especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of individualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition. But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 594 596 621

The feasibility of a change to the elementary family is partly a result of (I.b.) the introduction of metal implements leading to (II. A. c.) greater individual efficiency in agricultural work. At the same time, (II. A. a.) the increased importance of agricultural work has been a reinforcing factor. We have already noted (II. B. c.) that individual work, as opposed to joint or cooperative work, has become more important in agriculture and house-building. Severally, these interrelated factors have made it practicable for smaller domestic units to produce independently for their own consumption the currently recognized goods of the economy. Not only can an elementary family now provide for themselves without fear of too great a fluctuation in food yield from one season to the next, but now there is even a chance of a small surplus for trade. Successful food production in the present smaller family group probably does not entail effort greatly beyond that long characteristic in the culture.

We must now turn to a consideration of why a shift to a basic elementary family was desirable, in the sense in which we have been using the term. This gradual shift in sentiments is closely related to the complex of factors which (II. B. c.) individualized the division of labor. Most notable have been (II. A. e.) the *changa* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Both of these activities, as has been shown (see pp. 107–109), tended to emphasize individualistic operations and tended to create conditions in conflict with any other distribution of goods than an individualistic one as in the present elementary family. It may be, in fact, that (II. B. c.) individualization of labor and (II. B. e.) the shift to a basic elementary family are but different facets of the same larger trend; in any event, they are intimately related.

A more general impingement of acculturational factors upon the extended family system involves rules of residence. It is reasonable to assume, even in the lack of detailed facts, that there existed aboriginally a certain relation between the residence rules upon which the extended family was based and the sex division of labor. Perhaps the relation was keyed to a primary importance of women in agriculture; perhaps it was keyed to some other aspect of the sex division of labor. Whatever the key factor(s) for residence, the changed sex division of labor with the new importance of men in agriculture and in production as a whole would almost inevitably be a disturbing element in one sense or another. We can be fairly certain, that is, that the aboriginal division of labor by sex was of some importance and that any basic restructuring of it would make for some important change in the extended family system. So stated,

[121] as well as interactions necessary or possible in the light of such operations. "Desirability" here is clearly Homans' sentiments: for an operation or a different form of interaction to become effective, not only does it have to be feasible in terms of the given technology, social organization, etc., but the sentiments attaching to the older form have to become weak enough for the people to adopt the new mode of behavior.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

this is, to be sure, a rather unspecified influence. But when we note, as we have, the presence of just such other factors as would definitely favor the emergence of an elementary type of family, it becomes somewhat more to the point to mention even so unspecifiable an influence toward change as this. To say the very least, the changed sex division of labor would have had, so to speak, a loosening effect on the extended family. It may well be argued, furthermore, that the frictions an extended type of family will inherently generate are bound to cause its demise if supporting factors and those which mitigate friction are withdrawn, as it has been suggested they were in the present case.

One possible point of conflict of (II. B. a.) the increased importance of men in agriculture, and in the economy in general, with certain practices of the aboriginal extended family was the putative bride service of the pre-Conquest Cayuá. It is likely that bride service was weakened when the economic contribution of women decreased while that of men took the opposite turn. The argument is that bride service was based on the aboriginal woman's economic importance in the extended family. Her marriage, therefore, constituted a sizeable economic loss to her family and a consequent gain to the family into which she married. If this much is granted—and the evidence for aboriginal Cayuá bride service is admittedly not conclusive, it can readily be seen that a diminishing economic role of women would be a definite weakening factor in the custom of bride service.

Now bride service among the coastal and Paraguayan Tupi-Guarani, and putatively among the early Cayuá, was accompanied by the temporary matrilocal residence of a newly established married pair. This usage was necessarily integrated into the reigning extended type of family. It may be argued, therefore, that the gradual loss of bride service would mean the gradual discontinuance of temporary matrilocal residence. Any weakening of these usages, it is urged, would prepare the way for changes in the extended family system, such as neolocal or elementary family residence, particularly (and perhaps only) if there were other factors in the situation which also favored elementary family residence.[168]

If we assume warlikeness on the part of the aboriginal Cayuá (see pp. 38–39), or at least assume a standing need for defense against warring neighbors, it is not far-fetched to point out that the extended family probably had some func-

[168] What if matrilocality were the preeminent aboriginal rule of residence among the Cayuá (an hypothesis argued by some but not favored by the writer)? In that case, the present argument, at least, would be even clearer than it is. That is, a matrilocal extended family would be based presumably upon the importance in agriculture of a nucleus of cooperating kinswomen. A change in the sexual division of labor, with increased male importance in agriculture, quite conceivably would favor the gradual abandonment of matrilocality and hence possibly of any extended family at all. This would be even more likely if the suggestion proved to be correct that male labor in agriculture etc. has always been less joint or cooperative than female.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 182 596 • 594 621 tion in the sense of social efficiency in war.[186] The patrilocal extended family, for example, would have the advantage of being a group of closely related males living together. With (I. a.) the final guarantee of freedom from hostile attack and the prohibition of Cayuá aggressive warfare, the defensive function of the patrilocal (or other) extended family was removed. Such a sequence of events can hardly have played more than a minor, contributory role in the abandonment of the extended family, of course, but the effect of contributory factors is nonetheless cumulative.

Why has (1) a change to small house types accompanied the change in the type of family and the size of basic social units in Cayuá acculturation? Perhaps it is to be expected, since the Cayuá production-consumption group is also always the dwelling group, the aboriginal extended family in its *tapúi*, just as much as the modern elementary family in the modern type of small houses. Hence, reduced to the least common denominator of family type, the elementary families will ultimately come to have separate structures of their own, and these will necessarily be of a different and smaller type than those suitable for extended families. At any rate, there is little more which can apparently be said regarding the "desirability" of the change to small house types. It may, therefore, be asked if the production of the small house is more feasible for the elementary family than the *tapúi*. (There is little doubt that the construction of *tapúi* was primarily carried out by the members of extended families acting as a group.) The answer is clearly affirmative, that modern small house architecture is closely related to the housebuilding capacities of the elementary family. The small house has become feasible for the small family mainly because of (I. b.) the introduction of metal implements, primarily the machete and the axe. These tools have brought housebuilding of the modern type well within the labor resources of the elementary family, whereas, although the machete and axe have doubtless also facilitated the building of *tapúi*, they have certainly not made *tapúi* construction feasible for so small a working group.[187]

[171]

[186] It is more than possible that any Cayuá aggressiveness which ever existed, comparable to that among other Tupi-Guarani, had disappeared before the coming of the whites and the establishment of the SPI actually prohibited warfare. This might account for the lack of any mention in the literature of notable Cayuá aggressiveness. But even with the early cessation of aggressive warfare by themselves, the Cayuá were not exempt from fear of hostile attack by others until at least late in the 19th century. Thus patrilocal family efficiency in warfare (defense) might have outlasted the loss of Cayuá aggressive warlikeness early in the acculturational period.

[187] It could be argued, of course, that some other types of architecture than the present might have been adopted in response to the necessity for a change to smaller houses. Perhaps merely a smaller version of the *tapúi* might have been developed instead of the radically different type of dwelling which the Cayuá (at Taquapiri) did adopt. In the change of house types outlined, the new houses were probably modelled upon white prototypes introduced into the region with the European advent. A simplistic fallacy would be perpetrated, however, if one were to say merely that the present house types were "borrowed" from the whites. This, while the presumable fact, is also the least important part of the matter, and such a statement would tend to obscure the reasons

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Only (2) the shift in dwelling pattern remains to be considered in its relation to the changed basic social unit. We have already seen (pp. 85–87) that the break-up of the small number of extended families characteristic of the aboriginal local groups into the larger number of component elementary families meant a conflict between two aboriginal usages. These were, first, residence among kindred (whether matrilocal or patrilocal does not matter here) and, second, establishment of dwellings near their respective agricultural clearings or *kokwé*. The two practices were quite in accord with each other aboriginally, but in the modern situation they are not always reconcilable. In most cases, the location of elementary family dwellings among those of kinsmen has prevailed, and often at the expense of nearness to the *kokwé*, where a man must frequently go to work on his crops. Apart from the change to a basic elementary family itself, the most important acculturational factor in this pull between traditions is (II. A. a.) the growth of agriculture, necessitating the use of a larger area for cultivation. Thus many individuals must establish *kokwé* at some distance from their dwellings to have desirable land. The shifting nature of land use only increases this factor. The modern dwelling pattern represents one of the clearest Cayuá examples of the splitting of formerly amenable elements of an aboriginal complex and the development of a clash between them. No local Brazilian precedent exists to explain, via the direct borrowing argument, the present Cayuá conflict.

The final resolution of the pull between traditions of location near kin and location near *kokwé* is not apparent at present. The summer field house (see pp. 86–87) seems hardly a permanent answer. As far as the tendency to establish near *kokwé* becomes effective, it must have the result of further emphasizing the social discreteness of the elementary family as the basic production-consumption unit. To the extent that the traditional dwelling location near kin prevails, there will be the problem of distance to the *kokwé*. Nor can kin nuclei always solve the problem by jointly relocating their several houses because their *kokwé* are often not all together.[188]

It is necessary in ever increasing degree to go far out from the center of the village to find new land suitable for cultivation. It may even be that the Cayuá of Taquapiri, if not of other *reservas* likewise, will in the future face a land problem because their reservation is not unlimited as were their domains in the past. Otherwise, technological improvements will be necessary, such as rotation, more regular fallowing, or the use of the plow. (The plow is not used in

why the house type of the whites could be and was borrowed. Such a simple statement would imply the commonly encountered idea of a sort of "cultural osmosis."

[188] In connection with the broader considerations of rural sociology, the Cayuá conflict between location of the house near the fields or location in a group with other houses is nicely paralleled by the different common American and common European rural practices. The common American pattern is scattered farmhouses, each on its own farm lands, and the European is the agricultural village with outlying farm lands to which the farmer villagers must daily travel.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*177 this region by Neo-Brazilians either.) Such changes might permit the Cayuá
182 to use their land longer and less destructively. Conceivably, however, recourse
• 594 to the *changa* may bulk ever larger in the lives of the people as a compensation
596 for diminishing agricultural returns. In this manner they might be reduced to
621 the status largely of agricultural laborers for the local Neo-Brazilian popula-
tion, and hence would probably become de-tribalized.

*177 II. B. g. "Economic attitudes: (1) relations of individual and group change.
182 (Formerly more cooperativeness and helpfulness.) Associated with foregoing
156 is (2) greater commercialism or economic rationalism." The change in senti-
ments and relations of the individual *vis-à-vis* the group has closely followed (II. A. C.) greater individual productivity and efficiency, particularly in such an increasingly important economic activity as agriculture. It has already been noted (II. B. c.) that the division of labor changed in accordance with technological possibility, so that individuals are, in fact, more self-sufficient and now depend less upon others in their productive activity. Attitudes have correspondingly changed, and individualism of undertaking is increasingly assumed in sentiment as well as in interaction.

In the Cayuá instance, some of the same acculturational factors which historically brought about (II. B. c.) a more individualistic division of labor also tended to make for a more commercialistic view of economic matters. Two principal causes are (II. A. e.) the *changa* for Neo-Brazilians, and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, particularly the sentiments they engender on the part of the Cayuá. This is not a simple "adoption," in some crude sense, of Neo-Brazilian ways of thought and action; it is not, as it appears superficially, merely a gradual approximation of the native culture to the European culture. The point is rather that, the more Cayuá engaged in trade and work relations with their settler neighbors, the more they were obliged, for their own self-interest, to assume certain new attitudes and forms of behavior in these dealings. The new attitudes necessary on the part of the Cayuá were such as would conflict with the comparable attitudes of aboriginal culture. Gradually out of the resulting conflict emerged the sentiments which we have called individualism and commercialism.

Relations with the Neo-Brazilians in the *changa* constitute a type of productive activity for the Cayuá in which the individual's own work and own self interest are his sole concern. No other organization of the *changa* could probably succeed because of the leading part the whites, with their different orientation, play in the arrangement. In any event, all of the gain from work in the *changa* goes to the individual worker, and while engaged as a *peão*, he is effectively removed from the physical presence of other Cayuá. Thus the *changa* is not collective work; it is almost always individual.

The *changa* tends to give rather exclusive emphasis to the economic gain itself which is involved. In other words, a rational economic view, or commercialism, is fostered by this wage-work. There is little of the quality of helpful-

881 /38 cont./
562 son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because
[352] it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be
[784] born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the re-
[843] striction had not been observed. For this reason the man may
[824] ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's
son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

[178] Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large
[184] number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance
[304] in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his
[753] lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a
[262] biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent be-
[753] fore his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip
[824] pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays, however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the bad effects of the meat.

581 Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important
[594] social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/
place it establishes a new series of social relations for the individuals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place, the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elementary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society.
584 It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the
178 changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/40/

594 The elementary family among the Cayuá is a self-sufficient unit with regard to the economy, suffering enormously with the loss of one of the persons participating in the economic activity, to the point of its ceasing to function in the case of loss of one 586 of the members of the couple. Divorce is common, it sufficing for this that one of the spouses declare to the other that he is 587 going to leave. In general they do not wait long to realize a new 581 marriage. Marriage is considered a very natural and commendable thing, so that nowadays there are few young people who are not married.

753 Death: There are two principal types of sicknesses that can afflict the individual. The so-called "sicknesses of people" are thought to be cured by the use of the large number of remedies known by the Cayuá. But for the ailments caused by sorcery no 761 means of cure are known. Although not a very common event, at times the death of some child occurs, which, nevertheless, seems to cause only a relatively small disturbance in the life of 765 the close relatives. The death of an adult is followed by the 764 mourning of the close relatives. It is customary to bury the body the day after the death. They dress it completely, sometimes even with two or more changes of clothing, because the case of a son or daughter who gives a dress to the mother or a pair of trousers and a shirt to the father, on the occasion of their death, is not rare. After the corpse has been placed in the hammock of the deceased, it is taken to the cemetery. The hammock is carried by two men at the same time, distant relatives and friends of the deceased, who take turns after interv[illegible]. The objects of personal use are buried with the body, except those of value, such as iron pots, which frequently pass into the hands of some close relative of the deceased. The mourning is great on the occasion of the funeral. All the women weep a great deal, and the men who are close relatives of the deceased also weep. After the body has been placed in the grave, the tomb is closed, a large gourd being put on top of it.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

592 is concerned. The house in question was a *tapuy*, the large, archaic
156 house type of the Cayuá, which is becoming less frequent nowadays.
178 Its number of occupants was sixteen in the case Rengger cites. This,
476 we have good reason to suppose, was an extended family. We should
like to go into this matter to a greater extent, but space unfortunately
[342] does not permit. Suffice it to say, for our point of economic indivi-
[596] dualism, that while *roças* may have belonged to, been worked by,
[594] and supplied *extended* families a hundred years ago, they are today
worked almost exclusively according to individual, elementary families,
which also compose the usual household units. This is true of Taqua-
piry, at least.

476 Before turning to a brief note on present-day Cayuá peonage,
156 a third and final point is the apparent tendency to consider the joint
476 work party for work in the *roça* and the building of houses as of
distinctly limited utility and possibly (in the case of certain indivi-
duals) as more a social obligation than a useful and pleasant way to
get work done. It is true that some individuals have extensive re-
course to the *puxirão*, as it is called, in taking care of the various
parts of their agricultural work. But others, though fewer, rarely
arrange *puxirões*, preferring to do the work themselves. These latter
persons sometimes allege that the amount of work accomplished at
a *puxirão* is frequently small compared to the "cost" in *chicha* and,
furthermore, that the work is generally hastily and poorly-done, ex-
cept for those types of agricultural or other activities where a large
group of individuals is of obvious advantage or practically indispen-
sable. At least one individual almost never gives a *puxirão* and rarely
participates in those of others. He represents an extreme point of
view but he is not completely alone. Such factors are operative, too,
incomplete integration within the group (there are several new-
comers and others who remain "on the edges") and ability to "af-
ford" a *puxirão* (that is, to afford what it would "cost" in corn or
other goods to supply the necessary *chicha*). But even in their totality
these considerations do not cancel out the possibility of an increasing
individualism in economic activity and a consequent relative passing
out of use at Taquapiry of the joint work party.